

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 62

London: August 21, 1937

2d.

## END IMPERIALISM TO STOP WAR

### Modern World Needs a New International Order

#### "PASSIVE DEFENCE" DANGERS

A REFRESHING contrast to controversies at present raging round the details of Britain's "defence" policy is provided by George Lansbury, who, in a statement to PEACE NEWS, points out that statesmen have not yet grasped that present-day conditions demand a new order in international relationships.

"Statesmen are really more stupid than wicked," says Mr. Lansbury, who has just announced his intention of visiting the heads of the governments of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland next winter to follow up his recent interviews with Roosevelt, Hitler, and Mussolini.

"This is true of the weakest and strongest.

"They live in the past—as things have been, so they will be again. They do not see that though this may be true, conditions do change and the principle which operated a century ago operates today in an altogether different manner.

"Centuries have passed since the nobles built castles and moats, made roads and other defensive works to denote their right of way to and from their neighbour's possession. Now the castles are in ruins, the roads are Belisha's or the other fellow's, and property is safeguarded by the common sense of the community with the aid of a few police and a handful of justices and judges.

"Imperialist nations like ourselves, and now Italy, are terrified lest some Power will arise and block the highways to the territories they have stolen. They do not realize the old principle of freedom of movement and access still holds, but must now be operated for the good of all.

"We must have a real League of Nations to whom might be entrusted the oversight and control of all narrow waterways, aerial routes, trade routes, &c."

Palestine provides a topical example of how a small country may become a pawn in imperial moves, and Mr. Lansbury argues that "instead of being spoken of as the British aerial Clapham Junction of the world," Palestine "must become the international aerial junction, free and open to all on equal terms."

If international relations are to be brought into line with present-day conditions it will not be sufficient for statesmen to look upon the reduction of armaments as a separate problem.

The only hope of achieving success in that direction lies in the abandonment of imperialism itself as an out-of-date survival of the competitive spirit in a world where cooperation is urgently needed.

#### "PASSIVE DEFENCE"

Meanwhile plans for the "home front" are being suggested which may in time have an effect similar to that of air raid "precautions" in inducing people to accept preparation for war as normal and inevitable.

One such proposal is that for building up of food reserves, and in a letter on the subject published last week Sir Arthur Salter declared that

"we can immensely reduce the danger of starvation (and of the panic decisions to which such a danger may always lead) by a comparatively modest expenditure which has the further advantage of being entirely unprovocative in character."

Although "unprovocative," any plans designed solely as preparation for war cannot but add to the feeling that war is inevitable. For that reason pacifists should expose them as being steps toward a militarization of this nation as complete as that of which other countries are often accused.

As an alternative constructive policy—and the only one which can eventually insure real security for every nation—can be put forward Mr. Lansbury's demand for the old principle of freedom of movement and access to be extended to all.

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#### German Arms Workers in Revolt?

Two significant telegrams from its Zurich Correspondent have been published, side by side, by the Madrid newspaper *Politica* (reports our Special Correspondent in Spain).

THE first declares that "I. G. Farben"—described as the biggest trust in Germany—which employs 100,000 people and, among other things, manufactures poison gas, has just turned the hospital of its factory at Halle into a prison for rebellious employees. Offenders are conveyed there in motor ambulances.

IN the second message it is revealed that, according to secret official statistics which have just leaked out, 63 employees of the

Junker aircraft factory in Dessau were arrested and imprisoned during 1935.

For 1936 the number was 95 and during the first seven months of this year the number was more than double that in any previous year.

The correspondent of the Madrid newspaper adds that these facts speak louder than any comment regarding the workman's state of mind.

Thus it seems that in Germany, even in the very citadels of the armament firms, oppressed humanity is at last in open revolt against the tyranny of violence.

"May our workers show as much courage when their eyes are opened!" comments our correspondent in Spain.

### Spanish War Shows Futility of Attempt To Fight Fascism with Arms

AN indication of the way in which even anti-fascists are forced to introduce a totalitarian régime in their territory if they fight fascism by military methods has just been provided by the news that a junta invested with supreme authority has been appointed by the Spanish Government to act in Northern Spain.

The seat of this junta is at Santander—toward which a new rebel offensive began early this week—and it will co-operate with the present Inter-Provincial Council for the provinces of Asturias, Leon, Santander, Palencia, and Burgos.

This news completely justifies the following words of Simone Weil in *Nouveaux Cahiers* of April 15:

*Those on the Left forget on their part that even in their camp the necessities of civil war—the state of siege, the militarization of front and hin-*

*terland, the political reign of terror, unrestricted arbitrariness—suppress liberty much more radically than the attainment of power by an extreme Right party would do.*

They forget that the cost of the war, the restriction of production, the ruin, will cause the workers to suffer for a long time and much more severely than their exploiters would do.

The partisans of both the Right and Left parties forget that the long months of the civil war have called into being in both camps an almost similar regime.

Meanwhile a message from Salamanca, the insurgent headquarters, reveals that steps toward the fusion of the army and the political organization have been laid down in newly decreed statutes.

The decree gives legal sanction to the merging of the two political bodies—the Falangists and Requetés—which took place some months ago.

### Youth of the World Meets in Paris

"We swear, while other young people like us are dying on the battlefields, to devote all our energies to the defence of peace, the people's freedom and the rights of the young generation."

This was the oath sworn by representatives from twenty nations who participated in the celebration of inter-

national youth peace day at La Courneuve, near Paris, on Sunday.

The World Youth Congress, which has been meeting in Paris this week, was responsible for the arrangements, which included sports and athletic competitions during the morning and a mass meeting attended by two thousand members of the public, as well as

by congress delegates, in the afternoon. In the evening a fete took place in the Trocadero at the Paris Exhibition.

The World Youth Peace Congress first met in Geneva about twelve months ago, and this year's congress in Paris has been attended by seven hundred delegates from 25 different countries.

## PEACE A

## "REVOLUTIONARY IDEA"

From Our Special Correspondent

GENEVA, August 15.

A HUNDRED and twenty-one "young teachers" are attending here an interesting conference organized by the League of Nations Union Education Committee.

Until today they have been following a course of discussions and addresses devoted to the international problem from the point of view of education. Tomorrow the conference will join with the Geneva Institute of International Relations, whose fourteenth session is being held this week.

The teachers' conference so far has been encouraging to anyone regarding it from the pacifist viewpoint.

The lectures generally are pacifist in implication, even though there has been no occasion so far to face up to the question of the method of establishing international peace. Pacifist books are to be seen on the bookstall.

Edgar B. Castle, headmaster of Leighton Park School, based his address at the conference service largely on the work of Max Plowman and Middleton Murry.

"We must regard peace," he said, "as a revolutionary idea, subversive of much of our present mode of thought, destructive of a good deal of the pattern of our living." He stressed the need for conscious imaginative thinking. Peace, like war, demanded a quality of religious devotion. "Through recognizing with reverence the living spirit of God in every man and woman, we create his kingdom."

Sir Norman Angell, who spoke on "Where Education Has Failed, and Why," pointed out how the failure of public opinion to understand the issues (on the reparations question, for example) may be responsible for the adoption of obviously bad policies.

It was the task of education to see that the younger generation did not grow up with no knowledge of such issues—which, he declared, "any one of you could explain to any one of your pupils in less than an hour."

Miss B. M. Baker, headmistress of Badminton School, during the conference on "Practical Training for World Citizenship," called for a more democratic educational system, which should be based on a regard for human personality.

## Moral: Don't Miss Swanwick Next Year!

From Our Own Correspondent

Owing to the very bad weather on Saturday, the Wembley group of the Peace Pledge Union was unable to hold its garden party, as had been arranged.

Members met instead in the Methodist Church hall, which, in spite of the unfavourable conditions, was filled nearly to capacity, and a very interesting afternoon was passed with games and competitions.

After tea, Nigel Spottiswoode gave

## Lord Ponsonby discusses

## THE LABOUR PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY

REGARD Mr. Phillip Noel-Baker as a man of outstanding ability—an excellent speaker and a persuasive writer. He has a close knowledge of foreign affairs and is a real expert on League of Nations procedure.

He has a great influence in the inner councils of the Labour Party and everything he says is listened to with attention and respect. I was reading an article of his in the *Daily Herald* some days ago, entitled "The only real insurance for Peace," and I studied very carefully what he had to say on the greatest of all the issues of today.

I was amazed that a member of Parliament so highly gifted and well

## Britain Backing Japan?

Modern warfare has once again been showing itself in its true colours in China, where the bombing of Shanghai and its neighbourhood has led to the evacuation of thousands of foreign residents.

Although it is too early to expect any authoritative pronouncement as to the British Government's attitude, apart from its intention "to protect British lives and interests," an indication of that attitude as it appears to others may be gained from the statement of a German newspaper that, in the Moscow Press,

the attitude of the Japanese both in China and along the Amur river is castigated in the most energetic terms and Great Britain is also attacked for encouraging Tokyo's imperialistic plans. Official circles in Moscow are afraid of the possibility of British-Japanese reconciliation.

On the other hand a leading article in *The Times* on Monday conveyed scepticism regarding Japan's profession of peaceful intentions.

## CHINA: WOMEN'S LEAGUE APPEAL

Luhacovice, Czechoslovakia. — The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom assembled in Congress at Luhacovice, Czechoslovakia, has sent the following telegram to the President of the League of Nations Council and copies to Mr. Eden, M. Chautemps, French Premier, and M. Avenol, Secretary-General of the League of Nations:

Dismayed at Sino-Japanese situation Women's International League Congress assembled at Luhacovice urges immediate application article seventeen Covenant.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has also sent a telegram of protest to the Japanese Government. — *Agence Télégraphique R.U.P.*

an address which he described as the "pill" of the evening. This was followed by the "sugar"—Dr. Sheppard—who gave a very interesting talk about peace work generally.

He was especially amusing when he referred to some of the incidents which occurred at the Swanwick camp, which he described in such glowing terms that those who had not been there realized for the first time how much they had missed.

equipped should, in the midst of many admirable sentiments, make so many hopeless blunders and advocate a policy which is utterly remote from reality.

His catch-word, "Back to the League," sounds very plausible and is indeed a desirable ideal. But when one comes to the actual steps he recommends in present circumstances one can only despair that the official Opposition should accept such a policy.

HE admits the failure of the League in the Manchurian, Chaco, Abyssinian, and Spanish troubles and, rather unfairly, I think, attributes the failure to the action or rather inaction of the British Government.

He admits that Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States are to all intents and purposes outside the League. Yet he advocates strengthening the demi-League as it stands, tightening up Sanctions and consolidating the States-members of the League so as to keep in order the States which stand outside.

I regard this as a sure method of dividing the world into two hostile camps definitely preparing for war. In my opinion, if "Back to the League" is to be accepted as an ideal, there are two preliminary steps to be taken which are indispensable.

First, the League must be all-inclusive. This can only be brought about by eliminating from the Covenant all obligations to use force. I believe this revision of the Covenant would make it possible for Germany, Italy, and the United States to come into the League.

## SECONDLY—or perhaps

I should have put this consideration first—the real reason why there cannot be unanimous corporate action on the part of States-members of the League must be faced.

Mr. Noel-Baker knows just as well as I do that this theoretically plausible idea of the immediate, automatic and unanimous application of Sanctions is simply impracticable.

The Abyssinian episode has been a godsend to the League in showing clearly, once and for all, and beyond doubt that some States, even those who acquiesce in Sanctions, have for various quite good reasons no intention of implementing them by contributing a quota of the force required or (some of them) of even applying Sanctions themselves. This will always be the case and it is no good pretending otherwise.

Another attempt to apply this policy is not only predestined to failure but is calculated to smash the League for good and all.

"RESTARTING" the Disarmament Conference Mr. Noel-Baker recommends. This, to my mind, is the high water mark of futility.



Mr. Noel-Baker during an election campaign.

It went on for several years and surely the lesson learnt was that the experts of the various nations would never agree. The discussion degenerated into an attempt to lay down regulations as to how the next war should be fought, as if such regulations would be observed for a single day.

Obviously this was beginning at the wrong end. Not what arms should be used, but why arms should be used at all is the first essential step which has never yet been taken: to investigate the causes of quarrels, not to arrange for the consequences of quarrels.

I am glad to see Mr. Noel-Baker does recognize the need for a concerted effort to tackle the economic causes which lie at the back of international disputes. Indeed he puts the case fully and eloquently.

If put in the forefront, the proposal, which would need investigation, careful preparation, and a well organized, representative (but not unwieldy) conference, would be heartily supported by a large body of opinion all the world over.

BUT so long as the Labour Party is burdened by proposals for collective "security," the strengthening of Sanctions, using an incomplete League against non-members of the League, another Disarmament Conference and (I was really surprised to read) an international air police force (a proposal I thought by now had been ridiculed out of existence), and so long as it abstains from fighting rearmament, it will continue to lose ground.

It will attract no new adherents and, as is shown by the preliminary draft resolutions for the Bournemouth Conference, it will be subjected to strong criticism from loyal members of the party.

Mr. Noel-Baker writes in this article that "a Labour Government would provide the armaments that are required." What a phrase! It cannot be called a policy. If this mad policy of extravagant rearmament, of converting the country into an armed camp, dislocating industry, depleting the Exchequer, stimulating armament competition, driving the youth of the country into wasteful and sterile occupations had been, from the first, vigorously fought all along the line, Labour's prospects in the country would be far rosier than they are now.

Arthur Ponsonby

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# "WHY NOT TRY THE GOLDEN RULE?"

## M.P. Suggests An Alternative to Arms in Canadian Parliament

CANCELLATION of Canada's entire \$35,000,000 "defence" appropriation, and its diversion to the production of food and other necessities to be sent to nations known to be in need, was the suggestion put forward when the Canadian House of Commons discussed "defence" expenditure.

The proposal was made by Joseph Needham, who represents a constituency in Saskatchewan. It was virtually ignored in the Canadian Press.

"We are told that the world has gone mad—surely it is time for us to restore a little sanity somewhere," urged Mr. Needham.

"We are voting this session for defence purposes around \$35,000,000.

"Suppose Canada, for instance, said: 'As a government we shall try a new experiment in the world. We shall cut out absolutely all armaments, defence or otherwise; we shall use that money in the production of the necessities of life in this country, and then we shall distribute these necessities of life among those countries that need them most. If we have an enemy, we shall give them that which they need, and the keener the enemy the more goods we shall give them.'

### EFFECT ON OTHERS

"I am just wondering what \$34,000,000 or \$35,000,000 would mean to Canada if it were used in the extra production of goods to be distributed among other nations, what effect this would have on the nation which received these goods as a free gift.

"I hope the day is not far distant when some nation—and I hope it will be one of the leading nations—will have the courage to take such action.

"I am thinking of a Teacher of a long while ago who laid down certain rules for the government of mankind and I think the nation that first adopts the golden rule will be the foremost and most respected nation in the world.

"A little while ago we had a tremendous surplus of wheat. Would it not have been a fine gesture to have given that wheat to the country that needed it most?"

## Parliament and Natives

The current issue of *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* is especially interesting in view of the suggested transfer of native Protectorates to the Government of the Union of South Africa.

Published under the sanction of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, 51 Denison House, Vauxhall Road, London, S.W.1, the issue contains the most important speeches from the debates in the House of Lords and in the Commons on Empire Native Policy. The speech by Mr. de Rothschild on the industrialization of natives is also printed in full.

## Youth and Age at Peace Column

THE Guardians of the War Graves of Verdun—ex-Service men of many countries who tend the graves of their own nation's dead—have laid a wreath at the foot of the Peace Column at the Paris Exhibition.

The numbers of ex-Service men and delegations from ex-Service men's organizations who daily visit the Peace Pavilion have caused it to be known as the ex-Service men's Monument.

French and foreign visitors to the exhibition were recently witnesses of a simple ceremony, when 120 school-children from the Department of Oise paid a similar tribute.—*Agence Télégraphique R.U.P.*

## A VENTURE IN INDIA

From a Correspondent

A fellowship whose aim is to treat Christianity not in the terms of religion, but in the terms of life, has been started in India with the object of recapturing the spirit of the early Christians.

Known as the Fellowship of the Morning Star, it has been welcomed by several Christian leaders in India. Friends and supporters of the venture are needed outside India.

There are many ways in which anyone desirous of supporting the venture can do so, and those interested should write to the Secretary, C. A. Kalium, Multan Cantonment, India.

## TOTAL DISARMAMENT WANTED

The Theosophical University Press, Point Loma, California, has issued a pamphlet by Gottfried de Purucker on Disarmament by Mutual Agreement in which total universal disarmament is advocated.

## JAPANESE AS GUESTS OF AMERICAN STUDENTS

PALO ALTO, California.

ABOUT fifty Japanese and 100 American students chosen from colleges and universities throughout the United States took part in a week's conference at Stanford University a fortnight ago. Last summer the American students were guests in Japan; this year the invitation has come from America.

The whole project originated with the students as a method of creating peace and good will.—*Nofrontier News Service.*

## "Keep to Non Violence"

—U.S. LABOUR LEADER  
From Our Own Correspondent

"The churches are coming to see that war is incompatible with Christianity. They will come to see capitalism also as un-Christian if we keep to non-violent tactics."

So said A. J. Muste, the U.S.A. labour leader, at a conference on "Militant Pacifism" held by the American War Resisters' League. The secretary of the League, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, declared that

"Fascism is a philosophy of the totalitarian State maintained by force in the interests of capitalism. It is centralized dictatorship which recognizes only one party, and suppresses all opposition by force."

It was the natural result of mass-unemployment, she continued, as resulted from the World War, and of governmental indifference or impotence.

Economic discouragement, however, even working upon the susceptible raw material of unemployed youth and a shattered middle class could not of itself have produced the bizarre development known as fascism. For this there was needed the extraordinary psychological condition brought about by the World War and the Russian Revolution.

Edward Gottlieb, president of the New York branch of War Resisters, drew attention to the inevitable evolution of the modern age toward a collectivist economy, and the choice before us of sharing democratically in the future collectivism or suffering under the dictatorship controlling it. An attempt to achieve a revolutionary change by violence, he said, would only result in tyranny, whether the name were fascism or communism.



Professor Félicien Challaye, president of the original *Rassemblement International contre la Guerre et le Militarisme* (*International Anti-War and Anti-Militarist Assembly*). The first international conference of the R.I.G.M. was reported in *PEACE NEWS* last week.

## SPAIN

## Children Follow a Bad Example

From Our Special Correspondent  
CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

A CORRESPONDENT of a Barcelona paper tells how he visited a school for poor children and witnessed the performance by one of the pupils of an astonishing feat of memory.

The audience—so like them!—smothered the infant prodigy with kisses, but the journalist ran out to buy him a toy. To his disgust he found the shops and bazaars filled with weapons—toy rifles, cannons, machine-guns and, above all, pistols—incredible numbers of pistols.

He determined to find out by personal observation whether demand governed supply in this matter, and spent an hour studying the young

## PEACE NEWS in Spain

## WILFRED WELLOCK'S

article entitled "Spain and a World War: Should Non-Intervention Be Abandoned?" has made such an impression on a subscriber in Castellon-de-la-Plana that he has translated it for publication in the local socialist organ.

human at play. Sure enough, the parks and squares and gardens were filled with creatures waging mimic war, some levelling lethal weapons and ejaculating—"Pum!"—which is the Spanish equivalent of "Bang!"—others, self-constituted victims, simulating death to the life, if one may be forgiven an Irish bull.

The penman soliloquized ruefully—"It's all very well for the Government to disarm all those who are not in its employ. But when are they going to set about disarming the toy shops and these innocents who begin life by playing at slaughter?"

"Since destiny demands it, let us grown-ups go on killing each other for the sake of different shibboleths, but let us at least see to it that the infant's imitative faculty does not convert our playing-fields into a parody of the shambles."

He returned to the toy shop and bought a large wooden horse. "This," he thought, "will turn one promising intellect into more wholesome channels."

Alas! it proved to be a Trojan horse. The prodigy fairly hugged the gift. Then he flung himself astride his Rocinante. "At last!" he cried, "I have a horse. And now I'm off to the war."

## RECONCILIATION . . . .

A monthly review published by  
The Fellowship of Reconciliation

The purpose of "Reconciliation" is to review affairs from the Christian Pacifist point of view, to develop a constructive peace policy expressive of Christian principle and to keep peace workers in churches, colleges and the various Christian Pacifist Fellowships in touch with each other.

A specimen copy will be sent to you free of charge on application to the Editor, "Reconciliation," 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1

## Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

96 Regent Street, W.1.

THE captains and the kings depart.

John Barclay goes to Brittany on a well-earned holiday and Max Plowman is temporarily laid up with illness. So I am left to hold the fort with the pleasurable anticipation of a holiday in September. No, I shan't take any pamphlets with me to distribute to the holiday crowds, because there won't be any crowds where I am going. I shan't read the newspapers (they come a day late in any case), I shan't listen to the wireless, and if a war starts I shall probably not hear about it until I return.

A holiday from pacifism? Yes, in a sense, but in another sense no. A holiday from the negative aspect of pacifism. The continual struggle against the war machine whose tentacles are gradually crushing the life out of society. A holiday from A.R.P. and the latest recruiting stunts of Hore-Belisha. A holiday from Hendons and Tidworths; from the tribal fears and hates of the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Worker*. A holiday from wars and rumours of wars; from the shrieking propaganda of the left and the right; from mass made thoughts and the automatism of the mass man. In short, a holiday from the machine society—This Brave New World in which man's function is no longer to think, to feel and to understand, but to perform mechanically and unquestioningly his automatic actions as a cog in the vast machine which, by its enormity and efficiency, has inevitably become his master.

Ah, says the Marxist, here you have the pacifist in his true colours, escaping from reality into the idealism of a Robinson Crusoe Utopia. But is it not rather an escape into reality? For who can say that society today (Russia included) is in any sense real? A society in which man has been degraded to the level of a machine; in which his every action has become mechanical and in which the highest virtue is blind obedience to the dictates of that immoral abstraction, the State. Immoral because of its uniformity, because it does not differentiate between man and man, regarding everyone as a unit in its organization—a pawn to be moved without consultation or consent in whatever direction the game of modern diplomacy may demand.

And what modern diplomacy ultimately demands is war. Not the rival contests between man and man, but the wholesale and ruthless destruction of the enemy population. Statesmen may not consciously desire this, and may be quite honest when they deplore the idea of modern warfare. But they are driven to it logically by the economic structure and the ideology of modern society. For industrial society is based on the glorification of power; a man's worth is assessed not by his individual integrity as a human being, but by the amount of material wealth he can produce. The mechanic is more important than the labourer; the skilled technician more important than the mechanic; and the machine more important than any of them. For the machine can work faster and more efficiently than any man; its food is cheap and it needs little rest; it can be worked at full speed and then replaced by a better one—for there are no interfering humanitarians to stick up for its rights. The Athenians dreamed of a hierarchy of the mind, the Spartans of a hierarchy of the body. But we live

"Dick" Sheppard at Swanwick camp—drawn by a P.P.U. member who was there. (A photograph of sponsors and group leaders at Swanwick appears on page eight.)



## The Notice Board

Collecting boxes for use in raising funds for the P.P.U. are now obtainable from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

P.N. sellers wanted for Glasgow Peace Week (see opposite page). Volunteers, please get in touch with John S. Chalmers, 56 Ardmay Crescent, King's Park, Glasgow, S.4, within the next three or four days.

Nottingham wants more P.N. sellers on Saturdays and Tuesdays. Please get in touch with Mr. I. Lett, 100 Percival Road, Sherwood, Nottingham.

Group being formed at Blaina. Those interested communicate with R. G. German, Bleak House, Cwnalyn Road, Blaina, Monmouthshire.

Kathleen E. Streatfield, secretary, Chesterfield group, asks for help from readers who have had experience in running peace stalls. She would like to know how the stall was set up, the kind of exhibit shown, &c. Write to her at 31 Cobden Road, Chesterfield, Derbyshire.

Pacifists in London training colleges and colleges of London University please communicate with Miss M. G. Clark or R. S. Malloni, Goldsmith's College, New Cross, S.E.14, giving details of pacifist strength in their college with view to forming University Pacifist Association.

under a hierarchy of efficiency—and the aristocrats of today are the machines. A hundred men killed in a mine makes little difference—there is the huge reservoir of the unemployed from which to draw another hundred at random; but a broken conveyor is a disaster. All honour to the gallant conveyor which can shovel hundreds of tons of coal a day out of the bowels of the earth; all honour to the machines which give some men supreme power over the lives of other men; all honour to the machines which grind men's faces in the dust; all honour to the machines which give men leisure and to the other machines by which they painlessly consume that leisure. The coal mine, the factory, or the iron foundry; and in the evening the cinema, the newspaper, or the wireless. Mass production and mass consumption. No wonder that the supreme achievement of such a society is war. For war is the devil unleashed; it is the naked test of power against power, with no shred left of the moral cloak which thinly covers it in peace time. The human being sinks to his lowest level of unimportance and the machine enters its day of triumph. War is society with the lid off.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION PUBLICATIONS

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF PACIFISM. Edited by Aldous Huxley. 6d.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? The Case for Constructive Peace. Aldous Huxley. 3d.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? Aims and Basis of Active Pacifism. 3d.

AN OPEN LETTER. Rose Macaulay. 3d.

THE COMPLETE PACIFIST. Ronald Duncan. 3d.

IS PACIFISM SCIENTIFIC OR SENTIMENTAL? 2d.

FROM WAR TO PEACE. 2d.

REARMAMENT. Max Plowman. 2d.

FASCISM COMES LIKE THIS. 2d.

THE PACIFIST BELIEVES. 1d.

SHOULD A CHRISTIAN FIGHT? 1d.

100,000 SAY NO! Aldous Huxley and "Dick" Sheppard talk about Pacifism. 1d.

SANCTIONS. Aldous Huxley. 1d.

PACIFISM AND CIVIL WAR. Aldous Huxley. 1d.

MEMORANDUM ON THE AVOIDANCE OF VIOLENCE IN THE CONTROL OF INSANITY. 1d.

YOUTH & ADVENTURE. Wilfred Wellock. 1d.

WAR AS VIEWED BY JESUS AND THE EARLY CHURCH. Wilfred Wellock. 1d.

THE SUPPRESSED SPEECH. 1d.

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM AND REARMAMENT. Alex Wood. 1d.

There are also a number of free leaflets obtainable, together with the above, from 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

(Telephone: REGENT 2843-4)

And that is what I shall escape from for a fortnight. Not into a dream world where everyone lives on the fat of the land and no one has to work, but to a land where each man is a human being and to some extent his own master. Where there is no watertight division of the day into work and leisure, and where men are conscious of the rhythm of the land from which we all, however unknowingly, get our life and to which in the fullness of time we shall all return. Above all, I shall be living among men who are not fighting an inevitably losing battle against the machine, but who are struggling with the capricious yet tolerant forces of the earth and the seasons which are their life.

## MORE ABOUT PLAYS

By R. H. WARD

FIRST I must tell you that the appeal I made some weeks ago in PEACE NEWS for books and funds for the library at headquarters has met with a very generous response (though that does not mean that I am not repeating the appeal here and henceforward!) May I take this opportunity of thanking those donors who were too modest to send their names and addresses with their gifts and so could not be written to personally? There are still many books on pacifism and kindred subjects that we badly need; but the library is growing, and I can foresee the time when we shall be proud of it. There is one book in particular, a novel called *Lay Down Your Arms*, written at the end of the last century by the famous peace-maker Bertha von Suttner; this seems now to be difficult to get, and, if anyone has a copy that they could spare, we should be more than grateful for it.

Meanwhile (in case I should appear to do nothing but sit here in the office and make demands on people's generosity), there is this question of plays (which will make demands on their energy instead). As I hinted in my last article we hope that groups all over the country will produce peace plays this autumn and winter; for, if they are good plays well acted, they are certainly an excellent method of propaganda and one that will reach an audience to which it might otherwise be difficult to introduce the ideas of pacifism.

I know that it is still early to think of autumn and winter activities; many people are away on holiday, and many more are far too well occupied out of doors in their spare time to think of filling the evenings with committee meetings and rehearsals. All the same, I am afraid you are likely to hear a good deal from me about plays and their production in the near future, and I don't believe it is too early to begin getting the idea of them into people's minds. After all, the production of a play should follow a fair amount of imaginative thought, and the beach, the back garden, the country lane (not to mention the country pub.) are very good places for imaginative thinking. So we may as well begin in advance and avoid if possible those scrambled, under-rehearsed and under-organized performances that would do neither actors nor audience, much less pacifism, any good.

Here at headquarters we shall do anything we can to help. We hope to be able to advise people about the choice of plays and the general technique of production, and even, perhaps (where that is possible), to condescend graciously to watch a rehearsal or two and deflate self-satisfaction with our rude remarks. In future weeks I shall try to give a series of hints on the production of a peace play, from the stage of imaginative thought onwards. At the same time, please let me remind you that we at Regent Street are very busy, and that answering long enquiries takes a long time; so make them as short as possible, and answer them yourselves if you can. Many groups will have members as experienced in amateur dramatics as we are, and these will have no need of us; but we do hope to be able to help enterprising people who feel, in spite of inexperience, that the production of plays presents a field of activity that must be explored.

## Labour

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Before then Union Congress and demands present policy voiced.

(See Lord page two.)

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## Labour Party Urged to Oppose "Rearmament"

**T**HE decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party, by a narrow majority, to abandon opposition to the National Government's rearmament programme is the most menacing decision taken by the Labour Party since its surrender to war in 1914.

"Unless a stand is made . . . to reverse this decision and compel a united fight against the Government's arms programme, disaster threatens the Labour movement and the people of this country."

This warning, which appears in a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (an organization whose opposition to the Government's "rearmament" programme is, of course, not part of a repudiation of all war) will probably be echoed by many members of the Labour Party itself at the annual conference at Bournemouth in October.

Before then, however, the Trades Union Congress will meet at Norwich, and demands for the reversal of the present policy will certainly be strongly voiced.

(See Lord Ponsonby's article on page two.)

## "ANY OLD IRON" CAMPAIGN CREATES A PROBLEM

**ARE** you turning out your old scrap-iron and selling it to dealers?

Probably, if you are a pacifist, you are not, in view of the connexion with the "rearmament" programme of the present "old iron" campaign. But suppose you had to dispose of it—is it possible to do so and to insure that (if suitable) it doesn't go into the melting pot for armaments?

This is the problem troubling an Edgware (Middlesex) pacifist.

"I have a fair amount of waste metal of which I must dispose," she writes. "Now in view of recent advertisements, if I dispose of it in any of the normal ways, it is obviously going to be used for purposes of which I cannot approve and do not wish to profit by."

"But I must get rid of it. Has anyone a helpful suggestion, please?"

The position is not made any easier by the fact that, even if such metal were to be used for peaceful purposes, the price obtained—or even the possibility of selling it at all—would be

**What is the pacifist attitude to events in Spain to-day?**

**READ "SPAIN, A CHALLENGE TO PACIFISM"**  
(Price 2d.)

By **H. RUNHAM BROWN**  
Obtainable from:

The War Resisters' International,  
11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex

or  
The Peace Pledge Union,  
96 Regent Street, London, W.1

## Would He Bomb A Burglar's Home?

**L**ORD HALIFAX'S view that there might be greater evils than war has been echoed by the Archdeacon of the Isle of Wight, the Ven. C. W. Hampton Weekes, vicar of Brading, in his parish magazine for this month.

"There are people," he writes, "who in the name of Christ say that war is wrong and all the weapons of war should perish; we should show our sincere desire for peace by total disarmament."

"But I expect even these people lock their front doors at night and would, if not too frightened, tackle a burglar if he got in. They would probably go to the rescue of a woman or child whom they saw being maltreated, and if the bully turned on them instead, they would do their best to knock him down."

"War is after all only such incidents writ large. Put nations in the place of the burglar and the bully, and you still have the right and the duty to defend life and property."

"Our Lord, in the Sermon on the Mount, did indeed enjoin non-resistance to ill treatment. To turn the other cheek is, I believe, the ideal, difficult of attainment. But our Lord never told us to turn someone else's cheek to the smiter."

"As the spirit of Christ has in the course of centuries done away with slavery, for instance, so in the course of centuries he will do away with war."

The Archdeacon should carry his analogy further. Slavery stopped when those who saw it was wrong made others see it too. Pacifists will achieve their object in the same way.

**Did the last war end war? Don't be caught again:** this is the wording of a poster published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds, price 2d.

governed by the present shortage on account of armament requirements.

If you can suggest a way out of the quandary, send a postcard to the Editor.

### GOOD TURN?

The voluntary assistance of Boy Scouts has now been offered in order to accelerate the progress of scrap-iron from source to furnace, and has drawn a protest from a reader in Welwyn Garden City.

An announcement last week explained that

"it is expected that house-to-house collections, as well as constituting a 'good turn,' would be a convenient and necessary supplement to the rounds of rag-and-bone men and marine store dealers."

The possibility of giving assistance in the collection of scrap is also being considered by the British Legion.

# ARMAMENTS GET NOBODY ANYWHERE



# AND EVERYBODY NOWHERE

This new poster is now obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, price 3d.

## Peace Week in Glasgow

Glasgow is to have a peace week from September 13 to 19. The activities being arranged include:

A mass meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, to be addressed by Mr. Noel-Baker, Mr. Wilfrid Roberts, and Miss Corcoran;

Two performances of a variety entertainment, *Peace Pie*;

Special demonstration for women, and another for young people;

A Peace Ball;

Flag Day; and

Final demonstration on the Sunday, when there will also be peace services in the churches.

Details may be obtained from the Glasgow Peace Week Committee, 136 Wellington Street, Glasgow, C.2.

## I.P.C.'s First National Congress

The first national congress in England of the International Peace Campaign, originally fixed for October 29 to 31, will now be held from October 22 to 24, in University College, London.

The purpose of the congress will be to lay down detailed plans for the immediate future campaign of the I.P.C., and to plan, through the meetings of commissions, work for peace in various professions, &c. There will be commissions dealing with: arts, churches, cooperatives, education, industrialists and economists, law, medicine, science, services (army, navy, and air force), social services, trade unions, writers and journalists, and youth.

Further particulars may be obtained from the secretary of the I.P.C., 18 Grosvenor Crescent Mews, London, S.W.1.

## Your Peace News and You

**I**N order to end possible annoyance due to the odd halfpenny in our quarterly subscription rate, we are henceforth making this 2s. 9d. instead of 2s. 8½d.

The subscription for six months will in future be 5s. 6d., while that for a whole year will be 10s. 6d.

The price of twopence per copy for those readers who prefer to get PEACE NEWS from their newsagents will, of course, remain unchanged.

Whichever way you buy your PEACE NEWS it is still jolly good value for the money!

This Will Help You to

## SHOW WHAT WAR MEANS

A pictorial leaflet just published by the Peace Pledge Union, and entitled *Four Steps to War*, is eminently suitable for distribution at tattoos, &c.

The illustrations include an anti-aircraft gun, with the caption "Sufficient is thine arm alone . . ." and houses after a bombardment, with the words " . . . And our defence is sure."

Among other quotations is reproduced Mr. Baldwin's declaration that "it is well for the man in the street to know that there is no power on earth that can prevent him from being bombed."

Quantities of the leaflet, price 1s. per hundred, may be obtained from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

## Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

### Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

August 21, 1937

## INTERNATIONAL PACIFISM

IT is with difficulty that we in this country approach a problem from the international standpoint; our history and tradition, our geographical position, our political and economic policies hardly conduce to it. And it may be that in our pacifism, too, we are in danger of being insular. No-one would deny that the only thing more essentially international than war is pacifism, yet we have, perhaps, been inclined to regard pacifism as an English phenomenon, believing that no other countries have pacifist feelings of any depth or pacifist movements of any vitality; thus we are inclined to think also, with a curious kind of pride, that the onus of world peace lies wholly upon us. To some extent this outlook is no doubt justified. The pacifist movement here is as large and as vital as it is anywhere on the continent; but it must not be forgotten that the laws and traditions of this country make pacifism comparatively easy for us; we have no obligatory military service and we have something approaching freedom of speech, while other countries are considerably handicapped in these directions. It is true, too, that circumstances make us more responsible than many countries for world peace; the Empire and all that it implies of jealousy and oppression, of dissatisfaction and dispossession, makes England, willy nilly, an enemy of peace. It is a rough justice, perhaps, that has allowed this last fact to be balanced by that other of our comparative freedom to develop pacifism within our own bounds.

But it is necessary for us, who have already enlarged our view from that of patriotism to that of pacifism, to enlarge it again from that of national to that of international pacifism. And this is not easy. At once we are faced with many difficulties of varying profundity, from those of language and tradition to deeply inherent divergences of race, philosophy and creed. These divergences have been the causes and upholders of war in the past, and they must not be allowed to stand in the way of unity of pacifist thought and action in the present. For it is probably true to say that some countries, whose approach to pacifism is of necessity not ours, have a certain measure of distrust for the English pacifist. They are all too familiar with our isolationist policies in other affairs, they understand better than we do how little we have to suffer for our pacifist opinions, they realise that we have made few overtures of friendship; it is hardly surprising if they suspect that this may be some new tactic on the part of England for saving herself or for reaping something that she has not sown.

But beneath the surface where divergences, suspicion and distrust operate are certain forces, so far denied and suppressed between races and nations, which pacifism can foster, and on which, indeed, pacifism is based. These are the sense of unity that all people, of whatever race or creed, subconsciously desire (the true herd-instinct), and the simple humanity that all recognize. On this level the commonwealth of nations, the brotherhood of man, are already established, and we know that pacifism cannot become a potent reality until they are also established on these surface levels where divergence, distrust and misunderstanding hold sway.

It becomes an immediate necessity that we should make it clear to pacifists of other nationalities that

*Continued last column, page 7*

# THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

## Which is the Right Way Out?

By WILFRED WELLOCK

HOW does the pacifist stand in relation to the trouble in Palestine? At once comes the reply: What is the trouble in Palestine? Then follows the old, old story: noble aspiration contaminated by war promises and poisoned by imperialist purpose.

Palestine has become a storm centre, if a minor one, in international politics, and Britain is deeply involved. The Government is in favour of partitioning the country into three portions: an Arab State, a Jewish State, and a specified territory under a permanent British Mandate. Opposition has been shown to this policy, on various grounds, some as dangerous and objectionable as the partition proposals themselves.

The trouble in Palestine has its roots in war and imperialism. It dates from the War, and springs from two war bargains, the first between Britain and the Arabs, the second between Britain and the Jews, both with the support of the Allied Powers.

The first bargain was made in 1915 when, in return for their support against the Turks, under whose rule they enjoyed local autonomy, the Arabs were made great promises relating to the several countries which they inhabited.

Not long afterwards, without the consent of the Arabs, the Jews were promised the right to found a National Home in Palestine in return for the assistance of world Jewry to the cause of the Allied Powers.

Now these two promises clearly conflict. Hence the turmoil in Palestine today which grows daily more menacing. For while the bargain with the Arabs has not been kept as regards Palestine, the Jews have been allowed to proceed with the founding of their National Home, in consequence of which hundreds of thousands of Jews have migrated to Palestine from all over the world. Moreover, when Hitler came to power in Germany, and began to persecute the Jews, the rate of Jewish immigration rose enormously.

In this situation the Arabs very naturally began to grow restive, for they realized that, if the accelerated rate of Jewish immigration were maintained, the time was not far distant when the Jews would be in virtual possession of the country.

Again the situation was aggravated by the Arab discovery that Jewish immigration into Palestine suited the purposes of British imperialism. It therefore appeared to the Arabs that they must choose between (a) a permanent British Mandate over Palestine, or (b) a free Constitution in Palestine if and when the Jews were in a majority. Thus to be deprived of their political freedom and of the control of their country infuriated the Arabs and gave rise to all manner of violence.

The part British imperialism is playing in this may be gathered from a speech by Mr. Amery (a former Colonial Secretary) in the House of Commons on June 19, 1936:

"In defence, Palestine occupies a strategic position of immense importance. It is the Clapham Junction of all the air routes between this country, Africa, and Asia. It occupies an immensely important naval position in the new conditions in the Mediterranean. Cyprus, Palestine, and Egypt, effectively held, would

make it possible not only to keep open the Suez Canal, but to hold the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean. While it is true that we are not allowed under the Mandate to maintain a naval base in Palestine, yet Haifa, developed as one of the great ports and industrial centres in the Mediterranean and a great source of oil supplies which might not be available to us from elsewhere in time of war, would be an asset of immense consequence. There is also the possibility of railway communication between Haifa and Akaba, giving us an alternative route to the Suez Canal."

In supporting Mr. Amery, Commander Locker-Lampson let the cat out of the bag:

"We ought to encourage them (the Jews) to go there (Palestine) . . . in the interests of the British Empire. By conquering Palestine he (Lord Allenby) guaranteed security to the canal. What we want and must have is not only Egypt protecting it on one side, but interests in Palestine that are paramount and a body of people who have made it their home and will defend it, if it is attacked."

From this it is clear that behind the Palestine Mandate are imperialist interests which Britain proposes to retain, by means either of Mandate or through Jewish control.

The linking together of Jewish and imperialist interests is fatal to the future peace and well-being of Palestine. They must be dissociated at all costs, and at the earliest possible moment. Unfortunately many Jews are only too willing to link their fortunes with those of the British Empire, and to rest their future on its protective power. But happily there are large numbers of Jews who recognize that the only basis upon which Jews and Arabs can live together in Palestine is that of mutual cooperation in all civil and economic affairs.

What is disturbing is the fact that no party or group in Parliament is exposing the part imperialism is playing in this situation. In none of the newspaper reports of the important debates on the partition proposals in the Houses of Parliament have I seen any reference to the disturbing part which imperialism is playing in Palestine.

As with every other important issue in which imperialism is involved, the trouble in Palestine could be settled with little difficulty if international economic cooperation could be substituted for the scramble for monopoly control which today throws the nations of the world into ever fiercer enmity. The policy of partition carefully preserves British imperialist interests in Palestine, but leaves the major problem untouched. Arab and Jew are left in enmity that will continue unabated within each State and between the two sovereign States after partition—an enmity that will be strengthened by the fact that Jewish ascendancy will be supported by British imperialism, whose interests to a considerable extent will be in the keeping of the Jewish State.

For the reconciliation of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and the creation of a sovereign State in which both live and work amicably together, the following conditions appear to be necessary:

1. The Mandate should be terminated at a not distant date.
2. The proposed World Economic Conference should be called in order to remove the fears and rivalries that give rise to such a situation as exists in Palestine today.

*(Continued foot of next column)*

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## PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

Naval Frankness

MR. DUFF-COOPER'S assurance that our "great modern warships are not only weapons of war but also keep the peace" (reported in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago) has been revised a little. Vice-Admiral Gordon Campbell (retired) has asserted, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* that for peace-time duties aircraft on ships or aircraft-carriers may certainly be of the greatest use. However, the navy's chief concern is preparation for war.

Our Peaceful Air Force

AFTER the navy comes the air force as a claimant for the dual attributes of being (a) a force for peace—

I am certain that a strong air force in this country, as strong and efficient as our air force is becoming, is the greatest guarantee for peace. Not only is the air force a happy service, but it is the one service which, in the fullness of time, will make the airways of the world the ways of peace.—Lord Swinton, August 10.

and (b) a powerful force in war—

Originally only lethal gases were used, but it was later realized that it is much more important to force the enemy to wear masks and to incapacitate men temporarily, for in masks orders cannot be passed verbally, vision is seriously restricted, and the physical discomfort caused greatly reduces fighting efficiency.

In addition, a wounded or temporarily "gassed" man is of much greater importance than a dead one, since he tends to induce panic and needs feeding, medical attention, and often another fighting man is temporarily employed in taking him to a dressing-station.—*Royal Air Force College Magazine*.

"Defence" Exercises

IN an article just after the conclusion of the air exercises held in South-East England last week, the Aeronautical Correspondent of *The Times* declared that the task of the bombing raiders

had a deeper significance than that of training the machine of the fighter command and its allies; their comparative success was in a sense a vindication of the spearhead of the home defence forces.

In other words, Britain is obviously relying on offence as the only means of defence.

The declaration of the last Prime Minister that "it is well for the man in the street to know that there is no power on earth that can prevent him from being bombed" appears to have been substantiated by the recent exercises. A writer in the *Evening Standard*, for instance, reported as follows:

The experience of most of the other pilots in this squadron was somewhat similar to ours. Only by a lucky fluke in my opinion had we been detected at all, and many of our airplanes reached their targets without molestation, despite the fact that weather conditions were ideal for the defenders.

Scout Movement

THE great influence that could be thrown in the balance on the side of peace by the Scout Movement was referred to by the Chief Scout in his farewell speech to 28,000 members of the movement at the world jamboree in Holland last week, when he said:

We have been called a crusade of peace, and it is a very true description, for you have come from all parts of the world to get together in friendship, a great cause as high as any crusade. Today you are boys, but in a few years you will be men of your country, and, should quarrels arise with other nations, you may have to make a decision between war and peace.

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

(Continued from preceding column)

3. The Jews must abandon the idea of a Zionist State and recognize that the only basis on which they can settle in Palestine is that of an Arab-Jew State, in which the two communities cooperate in all civil and economic enterprises, and allow each other the fullest freedom in all intellectual and religious matters.

4. The Jews should make a voluntary offer of a slowing-down of the rate of Jewish immigration into Palestine until such time as they have won the confidence of the Arabs, and the latter realize the advantages and improvements that will come to them as the result of Jewish capital and enterprise.

## A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

## RENDER UNTO CAESAR

LORD HALIFAX, in his recent broadcast address on the Christian attitude to Peace, is the latest of a long line of ecclesiastical statesmen to base his apologetic for Christian participation in war on the famous text: "Render therefore to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." If Jesus "thus recognized the authority of temporal government," argues Lord Halifax, "it would seem to follow that he could scarcely have intended to condemn vindication of its authority, even in the last resort by force, for ends legitimate to the purpose for which such government exists."

Even from that position a further and crucial step has to be taken. Acceptance of the ultimate sanction of force as the support of the law within a civil society is not all the same as the acceptance of war between the nations. The fallacy of the analogy has been pointed out again and again, and perhaps most cogently of late by Dr. Alex Wood in his P.P.U. pamphlet, "Christian Pacifism and Rearmament," which, I hope, will become a household word among pacifists. There is a national society: it exists. But the international society does not exist. To pretend that it does, and to seek to represent one's nation at war as engaged in vindicating the majesty of Law and executing Justice on the offender against the international society is to deceive oneself and to indulge the confusion by which the pursuit of the national interest is identified with the pursuit of Justice.

That this confusion is instinctive and natural is true enough. But that is only a more urgent reason why the Christian thinker, such as Lord Halifax claims to be, should be on his guard against it. Still more must this be required of the Catholic thinker: which Lord Halifax also claims to be. For if Protestant thinking has become a little foggy about the doctrine of original sin, Catholic thinking claims to keep it clear. Yet the most conspicuous, and the most dangerous, blindness to the existence of original sin in contemporary man is precisely in this tacit acceptance by Christianity of the fatal confusion between the egoistic interest of the nation and the demand of Justice, or of God. The ordinary man may well be excused for this confusion. It is the function of Christian thinkers to help him to unravel it. Instead, they tangle him yet more deeply by their false and specious analogy between the national society which does exist and is based on law, and the international society which does not exist, but is merely a deceptive name for the condition of pure lawlessness that actually obtains between the nations.

The strange, yet illuminating, truth to my mind is that the words of Jesus on which this insidious superstructure of argument is reared are diametrically opposed to this interpretation. "Render therefore to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's" is twisted, in the mind of the modern churchman, into meaning: "Render therefore under the modern nationalist State the national war which the modern national State demands."

And, alas, the modern churchman gets away with it: partly because he is himself confused, and partly because this interpretation is really the condition on which a church is allowed to be a national church in the modern world. Nevertheless, the pretence that the modern national State is the equivalent of the empire of Cæsar is pure pretence. There is no Cæsar today: there are many Cæsars. But it is of the very essence of the Cæsar of whom Jesus spoke that there should be but one Cæsar. The Cæsar whom Jesus knew was the sole master of the known world, and above all he was the keeper of the world's peace. His power maintained the unity and peace of the whole world. And if, by some scarce hoped-for miracle, such a power were to be established today, to unify and pacify the whole world known to us, we should be wondering and awe-struck at the mystery of a power so universal and beneficent. We should not even find it hard to understand that Cæsar was revered as the embodiment of an authority evidently divine.

This was the Cæsar to whom Jesus commanded obedience and discountenanced those Jewish "patriots" who were eager for rebellion against him. And now, by the slow lapse of time and the gradual and almost imperceptible decay, first of the reality of the great international and supernational authority of the Roman Cæsar, then of the belief in the necessity of such an authority as was inherited by the Roman Pontiff, the great utterance of our Lord has been perverted into its very opposite. What on His lips was an acceptance of the authority that compelled universal peace and a rejection of the claims of a mere nation to shatter that peace has become a vindication of the claims of the national State to demand of its citizens an acquiescence in national war that must plunge the world in chaos and barbarism.

The wheel has turned full circle. How completely it has turned is manifest in the fact that it is a Christian thinker claiming, like Lord Halifax, to uphold the Catholic tradition, who thus wrests the words of Jesus from their meaning, in a service of Prayer for Peace held in the church where the founder of the Peace Pledge Union strove so manfully to make the message of Jesus a reality to the common man. In my own way, I believe in signs and tokens, in "evidences and dispensations," as Cromwell called them. I believe that such a happening is significant. It is to me the sign that we are moving, steadily and inevitably, to a visible breach between the Christianity which, whatever its profession, has suffered the State to become its God, and the Christianity which knows, by instinct, that this is the final betrayal of God and Man as well.

Concluded from column 1, page 6

they can rely on us for help and cooperation, that we do not intend any longer to recognize differences of race and creed as anything other than a greater bond of interest and study between nationalities, and that we do intend spiritually and actually to establish with them the reality of that unity which has lain so long hidden beneath the surface. If we as pacifists regard ourselves as citizens not of England but of the world, and if we regard all men as the children of one God, this becomes our necessary and inevitable duty.





Photo. by H. and H. E. Fletcher.

**GROUP** leaders and Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union at the camp held recently at Swanwick, Derbyshire. In the second row is John Barclay (extreme right), Wilfred Wellock (centre, striped tie), James H. Hudson (in glasses), Canon "Dick" Sheppard, Max Plowman, and Miss Margery Rayne.

Mrs. Barclay is next to Wilfred Wellock, and Mrs. Plowman is in the first row, in front of James Hudson. Canon Stuart Morris is also in the front row, in front of Max Plowman.

This camp photograph is among those obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, price 1s.

### Recent Publications

## POLICIES AND PUBLIC OPINION

**THOSE FOREIGNERS.** Raymond Postgate and Aylmer Vallance. Harrap. 10s. 6d.

Reviewed by Roy Sherwood

**T**HE joint authors and compilers of *Those Foreigners* are both well known to the reading public.

In their foreword they disclaim any intention of telling the story of the last 120 years of world history which the book covers.

The disclaimer is important because the real value of their extensive work of search and selection does not lie in the relatively superficial importance of the events themselves, but in the manner in which these reprinted articles and extracts from leading newspapers and reviews reflect our forefathers', our fathers', and our own reactions to these events.

The purpose of the book is to make plain how policies come to be formed and to undergo periodical changes.

At no time of the whole 120 years has our public opinion been particularly well informed. **Neither the boasted superiority of our Press nor the vaunted loftiness of our national attitude appear ever to have existed except in imagination.** Instead, there emerges a grubby determination to bend facts in accordance with prejudice and self-interest.

From the years after Waterloo until the policy of "no alliances" came to an end with the beginning of the twentieth century, public opinion of all foreigners was contemptuous. Sometimes patronizing, sometimes flippant, at others scornful; at all times consistently far from above.

### THE AWAKENING

With the Boer War came the somewhat surprised realization that practically the whole world was united in condemnation of Britain and that it might, therefore, become necessary to have some friends among foreigners. The attitude to them undergoes a change.

The sections of the book from 1899 to 1914, from 1914 to 1918, and "Ourselves," from 1918 to the present day, are those which will prove of greatest interest to pacifists. The gradual emergence of war-mindedness becomes irresistible.

Sanity is completely submerged, not only during the War years, but for almost a decade after, with only one outstanding exception: that of

the *Daily Herald* as long as it remained under George Lansbury.

With only as much editorial addition as is necessary to bridge one article to the next, the authors are content to leave the leader-writers to speak for themselves. Their selections are scrupulously fair, from first-class newspapers and reviews, no attempt being made to force a particular point of view upon the reader. The cumulative effect is to demonstrate that we are not as well served by our Press as we are fond of believing.

## Japanese View

**THE NEXT WORLD WAR.** Lt.-Com. Tota Ishimaru. Hurst and Blackett. 15s.

**T**THIS book should be popular among those who admire Japan and advocate a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It is spoilt, however, for the impartially minded, by the author's bias.

One realizes after reading it that the Japanese do not merely think that everything Japan does is right; they know, and it is this attitude of mind that makes them so irritating to the average Occidental.

This doctrine of Japanese infallibility so permeates the book that it is difficult to attribute to the author the fair-mindedness so necessary in a work of this kind, but considering the magnitude of the task he has undertaken, he has, apart from this, succeeded very well. After all, a similar book by an Englishman would hardly be free from bias, and the extent of the latter in this case is due to the author's race, rather than to his individual beliefs.

Lieutenant-Commander Ishimaru tells us once again what we ought to realize by now, namely that, until, by transfers of territory and consequent removal of grievances and specific danger-spots, the distinction between the "have" and "have not" nations is lessened, the world will live under the perpetual shadow of war.

His references to the League of Nations as an organization for preserving the status quo are unfair. The League was not founded for this purpose, and had it been accorded the support it deserved it would still be a power to be reckoned with, and more-

over, a power for good. *En passant*, one cannot help remarking that the history of Japan's relations with the League does not reflect much credit on Japan.

Finally, a word of praise is due to Mr. Matsukawa for translating into such excellent English a book of such wide scope.

J.K.M.C.

## A Book of Poems

**A CAMBRIDGE SKY.** Poems by Noel Holmes. Foreword by Frank Kendon. (Obtainable from author at University Press, Cambridge.) 2s. 6d.

Reviewed by Hedley Smart

**I** AM in the right frame of mind to review this book.

Yesterday I lay in the Grantchester meadows, thinking of Brooke and the futility of his death. This morning I travelled down from Cambridge with a young American, who called England a nation of bards and quoted Chaucer.

But Mr. Holmes is neither Chaucer nor Rupert Brooke. The great poet tugs at your heart. Mr. Holmes merely tickles your fancy. He lacks the vital, vibrant spontaneity that makes great epics and sonnets like jewels.

His greatest fault is a tendency to juggle with his phrases. And too often his imagination, instead of "soaring away like a balloon into the colours of the sunset," droops under the strain and leaves us with a limp cliché—"the weary labourer, plodding with his load," or "eyes as stars, shining above the ocean of the deep."

**But these are minor points. What matters is that Mr. Holmes has the soul of a poet, that he can see the beauties of the universe. Some of his lines are well worth having, if only because they promise better things.**

Two lessons he must learn if he is to write great poetry, something to sing in men's minds and set their hearts tingling. He must stick to the language of today. He must use a ruthless blue pencil on such lines as "O eager was my joy at them beholding."

Finally, he must become truly Mr. Noel Holmes, not merely a faint echo of the greatest of all Cambridgeshire poets.

He must forget the haunting melodies of Brooke. I suggest that for six months he buries the *Collected Poems* on the top shelf and reads nothing but modern novels.

## No Time to Lose!

**W**E apologize for reminding our readers once again that our Art Competition closes at the end of next month.

August, however, will soon be over, and with September starts the autumn spate of meetings, so that anyone who has not yet started on his entry should lose no time in doing so.

The competition will be divided into two sections:—

(a) Cartoons.

(b) Posters.

Arthur Wragg will judge the results and for the best entry in each class a prize of 30s. will be given. But please note very carefully all the following conditions (it is incredible how many disqualified themselves in the last competition simply by disregarding plainly stated conditions):—

1. Cartoons to be of a size suitable for reproduction in PEACE NEWS (i.e. so that when reduced any detail would still be distinguishable).

2. Posters may contain lettering, illustrations, or both; but

(a) Lettering must be limited to a maximum of four words in addition to "Peace Pledge Union"; or, if "Peace Pledge Union" is not used, a maximum of six words.

(b) Illustrations must not be in more than three colours.

3. All entries to be sent to 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marked "PEACE NEWS Art Competition."

4. To arrive not later than September 30,

5. Accompanied in every case by the form at the foot of this column filled in with the competitor's name and address.

### PEACE NEWS ART COMPETITION

Name.....

Address.....

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### Peace-workers in Geneva

The origin, aims, and development of the International Consultative Group (for Peace and Disarmament) are described in a pamphlet published recently.

The group, it says, is "an informal association of representatives in Geneva of international and national organizations interested in disarmament and peace. Its members represent such organizations in their personal capacity without engaging in any way whatsoever the responsibility of their respective societies."

"In these days when oversimplified controversies between extremes are popular, and it is commonly believed that the best way to remove opposition is to 'liquidate' opponents," says the pamphlet, "it may be that an unofficial group whose aim and technique is to face differences and to strive to find a synthesis has a role to play at Geneva."

The address of the International Consultative Group is Palais Wilson, Geneva.



**W**E continually hear people, even pacifists, referring to "going back to barbarism" or to "beastliness." There is a large mass of evidence which goes to show that in primitive times man and his near relations in the animal world were peaceful creatures—even the gorilla, which is politely disowned as a near relation in the *Encyclopædia of Pacifism*.

According to the late Carl Akeley, who studied the habits of the Kivu gorillas, in the wild state and when free from any previous experience of human hunters, man's nearest relative is "a perfectly amiable and decent creature" who attacks a man only when he thinks that he himself is being attacked. Like a primitive man, he will fight in self-defence or in defence of his family, but will not be aggressive

### Think of THOSE WHO WILL COME AFTER

**I**T is surprising how many people will agree that thought is stronger than any weapon of war that man can devise and yet feel they must support the "rearmament" scheme.

"Yes," they say "thought and faith are greater powers than death—but we must defend ourselves."

There is no need to dwell on our "defences," for every pacifist knows that argument.

What I cannot understand is the fact that people of every type—militarist, Christian, materialist, atheist—all admit the supremacy of thought, and yet deliberately refuse to allow it to enter into their ideas and actions of life. They admit that we should all work for succeeding generations, but turn round and say, "Yes, but what about us?" Well, what about them?

It is perfectly true that they have a right to look after themselves. **But have they a right to do so at the expense of their descendants?**

Even now we are preparing for wars for those little people who are now in prams, cots, and cradles. On top of that we have the audacity to borrow money to kill other people with and charge it on to those children.

Just imagine going into a baker's shop, taking most of the goods and saying to the girl behind the counter, "My grandchild will pay you for this."

"When will your grandchild be in, madam?" "Oh, she isn't born yet, but I'm buying all this stuff for her to eat when she gets old enough. Won't she be surprised?"

This is exactly what we are doing.

As John Ruskin says, "God has lent us the earth for our life. It is a great entail."

**"It belongs as much to those who are to come after us as to us, and we have no right by anything we do, or neglect to do, to deprive them of the benefit which was in our power to bequeath."**

DOUGLAS GORDON

## CIVILIZED MAN is the SAVAGE!

unless he is in danger or in fear of hostility.

The late Elliot Smith says that "the opinion widely current among both hunters and natives in the Cameroons, that the old male gorilla of any family group will attack any human being at sight, is not necessarily inconsistent with Akeley's conviction. For all the old males that have been killed in the Cameroons—and as the natives use gorillas for food they have a wide experience of hunting them—are said to reveal many scars resulting from former encounters with human hunters, so that there is ample reason in their personal experience for the hostility and the loss of the natural amiability which Akeley attributes to them."

**The same author describes natural man as "a naked, harmless, truthful child, good-natured, honest, and considerate, with an aptitude for pictorial art and craftsmanship."**

"Though merry and kind-hearted, he is shy and suspicious, always on the alert and ready for an emergency, quick and able to defend himself."

"Though timid and friendly, he is always ready to fight for his life. He never wantonly attacks or slays another man; but if he is himself attacked he will not only protect himself with vigour, but will call on others to help him. . . .

**"Primitive man is prompt to resent injuries and injustice, and the facility with which his genial characteristics are lost and habits of cruelty are adopted lends some colour to the popular idea of the savagery which is**

says

**ALAN HOGGETT,**  
who shows that primitive peoples  
are not necessarily violent.

usually associated with uncivilized mankind."

**I**T seems that "reverting to savagery" is a mistaken idea, and that men have acquired violent habits only since the beginning of "civilization," a comparatively short time. These habits are a comparatively recent development, and are passed on by our methods of education.

An instance is given by W. J. Perry, who says

"the Indian tribes of the United States can be divided into two distinct groups: the food-gatherers and the food-producers."

"The food-gatherers are entirely peaceful. The food-producers, on the other hand, indulged, prior to the coming of Europeans, in a certain amount of fighting."

"All these tribes had acquired, ultimately, it seems, from Mexico, a military organization, and every male child was brought up to be a warrior. Military training was part of his education, so that, when adult, he was fully prepared to manifest that form of behaviour if necessity should arise. Both sets of tribes, the peaceful and the warlike, are of the same stock, and their environments are similar. . . .

"Children are petted and spoiled among food-gatherers and peoples of lowly culture. We have to turn to the Old Testament, with its atmosphere of violence, to Sparta, to really warlike

peoples, for robust notions as to the proper treatment for a child.

"Action and reaction go on in a society that has learned violence, and the final result is a great accentuation of this form of behaviour. *Treat a child violently and it will react violently; it will look on violence as natural. Such is the vicious circle.*"

The fact seems to be recognized in the army, for the Infantry Training Manual stresses the need for "inculcating the offensive spirit." They don't presume it is there already!

**I**T is a pity that so many modern educationalists, who believe in some form of recapitulation theory, are inclined to reason that primitive peoples must have been warlike because they observe violent or cruel actions in children.

They do not realize how imitative children are, and they do not trouble to find out if an action is instinctive, or if it is due to conscious or unconscious copying of its parents or companions.

We must realize that a lot of Victorian biology was a justification of the aggressive policies of the time.

**Let us get away from the idea that we are evolving from a primitive violence to a civilized decency, and face the fact that there is no evidence for primitive savagery but a good deal of evidence for the fact that as our civilization advances we are getting more violent and destructive.**

This is not a necessary progression, it is not natural but due to some maladjustments in our social structure, and it is our job to put it right if possible. We shall not help to do so by patting ourselves on the back for our great advance from "savage" ancestors.

## The Boys' Brigade, and other Movements

By GRACE HAWKINS

(Secretary, the United Humanitarian League)

who replies to points raised in the correspondence which followed her letter published in PEACE NEWS on July 17.

**I** APPRECIATE E. A. Render's frank acknowledgement that I am "right in looking with some disquiet" upon certain things that are bound up with the Boys' Brigade. He says that he, too, has had his misgivings and that he knows other pacifists within the ranks of the movement who are "not happy about it."

Surely it would be better for the cause of peace if all who are not happy about these things would

E. A. Render refers to these disquieting ingredients as being "not more than a very small part," but the smallness of injurious things does not dispose of their injuriousness.

For instance, the introduction of small portions of poisonous vaccines and serums into healthy bodies has been accountable for innumerable cases of permanent injury and of death. There is a similarity between inoculation and inculcation.

### What War Means

**ANOTHER Great War would extinguish what is left of the civilization of the world, and the glory of Europe would sink for uncounted generations into the dark abyss. — Mr. Winston Churchill in Paris, September 24, 1936.**

divert their energies to the strengthening of such other movements (of which there are several) as Woodcraft Folk and the International Voluntary Service for Peace, the first of which is very similar to the B.B. and Scouts' organizations, but devoid of those militarizing tendencies which many pacifists object to.

### EXAMPLES

General Baden-Powell did not under-estimate the importance of the "small part" wrapped up in such movements, when, before the War, he declared in his book *Scouting for Boys*, that he was looking to his boys to be the future soldiers of England, for no one can say that he looked in vain. (This frank statement was deleted in later editions of the book; presumably its eye-opening effects were found to be inconvenient.)

As a parallel I will mention that, prior to the War, B.B. Press advertisements were boldly headed, "The Boys' Brigade—a non-military organization."

In a remarkably short space of time after the outbreak of the War that heading was withdrawn, and the advertisements then flagrantly boasted of the large numbers of old B.B. boys who had joined the army.

Does not the fact that these militarizing components are small constitute a greater, rather than a less, danger to our cause?

Were they larger and less carefully wrapped up with the good parts, pacifists in general would be regardful of the injuriousness, and would decide accordingly in regard to their boys.

P. R. Alderman, in his article in the same issue, says "many B.B. officers are pacifists." One does not doubt that, nor question the sincerity of officers like himself and E. A. Render.

The same may be said in connexion with the Scouts. But no individual pacifist officer can eliminate the militarizing influences that are undoubtedly in the movement of which his company is a part.

Military drill has been opposed on physical grounds, also as being unsuitable for growing boys. It cannot be said, however, that military drillings and whatnot are entirely without advantages of any sort, as in time of war military authorities undoubtedly find these things advantageous to their machinery of war, for it is known that such boys require less training before being sent to "the front."

## "Concrete" Pacifism

WILFRED WELLOCK'S  
REPLY

I QUITE agree with L. Smith that the unfair working of "non-intervention" in Spain has brought us nearer to a world war, but only because it may lead to the abandonment of "non-intervention."

I believe that in present international relations the abandonment of non-intervention at any point would probably have led to a world war. In addition, it should not be forgotten that the fear of a fascist revolution in France was a powerful reason for supporting the non-intervention policy.

We of the P.P.U. see no hope in substituting one risk-of-war policy for another, conscious that unless the wrongs and injustices which afflict the world today be removed, peace is impossible.

So long as these injustices remain, the vast armaments of "concrete" pacifism will merely add fuel to the fire. Given a bold attempt to establish justice and to put a new spirit into international relations, this kind of "concrete" will not be needed.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Victoria Avenue,  
Quinton,  
Birmingham.

## 'TWISTING' THE BIBLE

May I refer to S. C. W. Gill's letter in your issue of August 1, headed "Twisting the Bible"—in which Mr. Lloyd George is attacked for not using the rendering "On earth peace, good will toward men."

Beautiful as those words are, we must remember that they appear in the authorized version of the Bible, and that subsequent translations more nearly approach in meaning Mr. Lloyd George's "modern version."

Thus, the revised version runs "on earth peace among men in whom He is well pleased," giving alternative marginal suggestions of "men of good pleasure" and "Peace—good pleasure among men."

Weymouth suggests "Peace among men who please Him"; Moffatt, "Peace on earth for men whom he favours."

I do not think it is necessary to infer from any of these translations, as does Mr. Lloyd George, that the words mean "no peace to the oppressors"; but I suggest that it is unfair to accuse Mr. Lloyd George of "twisting the scriptures."

The "twisting" has been done by scholars, whose only concern was to produce a translation as true as possible to the original meaning.

R. COLLES.

40 Ennerdale Road,  
Richmond,  
Surrey.

## FINANCE

I am keenly interested in your quotation from the King of the Belgians, and am anxious to support any steps toward monetary reform. I have studied the Social Credit system proposed by Major Douglas for several years and nothing more sane and unanswerable seems to be forthcoming from his critics or anyone else.

May I urge Peace Pledgers to watch what is happening in Alberta. Each new number of *Social Credit* tells us the truth about this historic movement there.

ELMA BAKER MILLER,  
Squirrels,  
Redwood Road,  
Sidmouth.

## THE CHURCH AND WAR

With regret I read of the non-committal attitude of the Church toward pacifism. Until the Church adopts full pacifist views, I, for one to worship, must remain outside its doors.

ANON.

# LETTERS to the EDITOR

## PACIFISTS IN PARLIAMENT

I HAVE taken the advice Mr. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., gives at the conclusion of his article "Under Big Ben" in the August 7 issue of PEACE NEWS, and as the result I feel convinced that a Pacifist Party is really needed.

Mr. Sorensen suggests that party loyalty should come before personal convictions and so he put what he considered first things first (as also did those four pacifists who voted against the Service Estimates).

As to being elected by non-pacifists, I presume that although they did not elect him because he was a pacifist, he did not hide the fact from them that he was a pacifist, and no-one could be surprised if a pacifist voted against such abnormal expenditure on armaments. On the contrary the surprise would be occasioned by acting otherwise.

WALLACE GREENGRASS,  
Wellclose Square,  
Margate.

## RED HERRINGS?

At this early stage in the development of an organized peace movement it seems unfortunate to me that so many pacifists are wasting their time and ours by drawing red herrings over the main trail. Surely PEACE NEWS is a forum for peace-lovers, not a baiting ground for cranks.

The first pacifist I ever met was a teetotaler and non-smoker; I have since been urged by your correspondents to renounce everything from the devil to rump steak. Indeed, a synthetic pacifism, made up from the letters of your readers, would seem to consist of a hair shirt, nut cutlets and a copy of Ella Wheeler Wilcox. I can't even join the Boys' Brigade and play the bugle. Even the hair shirt is out of bounds, since it means killing a horse to get the hair.

I renounced the institution of war, I am prepared to forego blood sports, if only because I prefer foxes to the sort of people who hunt. But I am not prepared to abandon duck-shooting, strong ale, and the use of my right arm; and there are times when I could complacently see vivisection extended to include major-generals and rear-admirals.

The bald fact is, so many crank theories are now being advanced as part of the doctrine of pacifism that if we follow them to their logical conclusion we shall ultimately be asked to commit suicide to spite the War Office. Our job is to stop organized slaughter, not to start a barley-water campaign and plead for sympathy for rabbits.

"ANTI-WAR."

## WAR MEDALS

As a pacifist and an ex-Service man, following the dictates of my conscience, I feel that I cannot fall in line with the correspondent in your August 7 issue.

I am sure that neither he nor any member of the P.P.U. would wish to offend or hurt the feelings of any members of our movement who were C.O.s during 1914-1918, or any of the members of the No More War Movement or the Society of Friends.

I think we must make every effort to pull together, rather than do anything rash that would have a tendency to split, cause friction or bring the P.P.U. into ridicule.

I feel that I could not object to any member wearing the life saving medals—Royal Albert Medal or Royal Humane Society. To me war medals

I MUST protest against the Rev. Sorensen's attitude on the voting on Defence Estimates. It is not good enough bravely to declare that he did not vote against, but abstained.

When he was electioneering I take it he was well known and recognized as a pacifist who, after due consideration by the voters, was elected as their representative.

His attitude is horribly convenient and on his argument none of us has the right to stand by our principles if we belong to the one-time great Labour Party which today is the Opposition in word only.

If the Rev. Sorensen is so bound by party loyalty as to suppress his sincere convictions on a paramount Christian and human issue—well, I wouldn't be, I'd resign.

HAROLD J. WHEATE.

56 Blenheim Crescent  
Leigh-on-Sea.

## RICH MEN

May I thank Mr. Reginald Reynolds for his interesting suggestion that I should rewrite the simile of the camel going through the eye of a needle?

I hold no special doctrine about private possessions except that our present attitude toward them is obviously bad and is one of the constituents of the war mentality. But I think that Jesus did not intend to convey the idea that wealth is bad in itself, but that it is our inner attitude to it which is the snare.

If I were competent and the Editor would offer me sufficiently advantageous terms I might consider continuing the Parable of the Better Samaritan as a serial story depicting the rich man's reaction to a communist revolution! But I have not the ability.

O. T. MILLER.

"Heathcote,"  
Norwich Road,  
Fakenham, Norfolk.

## MODIFY THE PLEDGE?

I am a fervent believer in peace and take a great interest in all that is said, done, and written to further the cause. On the other hand I, in common with thousands of other people, cannot see my way clear to sign your pledge; it goes too far.

Most people prefer to leave themselves free to decide what is best to do in the event of another war (I realize that in the meantime everything possible should be done to avert war). Could not the pledge be modified?

Obviously it would be illogical for me to help the P.P.U. further its cause if I am not a signatory and yet I am all for peace. I am entirely in agreement with its constructive proposals but lament the fact that my inability to sign the pledge debars me from association with them. Cannot "absolutists" and "yes-but" people get together? It seems important that the common aim should transcend the different methods of approach. Is not this the essence of the P.P.U. founder's creed?

Have any of your readers similar views?

A. S. BURKINSHAW,  
130 Bulstrode Avenue,  
Hounslow, Middlesex.

are just the same as war munitions. For are they not the laurels of war and should be counted as such. I should like to ascertain General Crozier's opinion on this matter.

ALBERT BARRITT.

29 Bromley Place,  
Angel Row,  
Nottingham.

## The German People

"GOOD, SANE, CHRISTIAN  
HUMAN BEINGS"?

YOUR special correspondent states that "the German people are still good, sane, Christian human beings" together with other salutary observations.

On the whole I agree with his impressions, having had opportunity last year in Germany to form contacts with several sorts of German people. But I am puzzled over the above quotation.

"Good, sane, Christian . . ." Is it either of these to tolerate neurotic anti-semitism, the wholesale imprisonment of thousands of socialists, communists, and pacifists, the deification of the State, the assassination of intellectual liberty and the hypnotism of military "swank"?

In the laudable effort to maintain a sane perspective and a disposition of healing appreciation there is no need to snub justice in the interest of peace. The evils I mention are there and they are tolerated and frequently endorsed by those who undoubtedly can be and are kindly and hospitable. Why try to disguise that fact? It gains nothing and is liable to repel those who are endeavouring to understand the psychological technique of pacifism.

The German people are not "all right" and nor are we, for that matter. But in our desire to avoid Pharasaism there is no need to avoid facing facts. "Good—sane—Christian!" Precisely what does that mean?

REGINALD SORESENSEN.

38 Woodside Park Avenue,  
London, E.17.

## "ENEMIES"

In *News Chronicle* recently appeared a letter declaring that a Territorial Army recruit was warned against literature from the Communist Party, and told that Communists were enemies.

I am a Communist Party member myself, and I give a few of my own experiences as a Territorial: enlisted 1908—we were mostly sent to India during the Great War. We were told to regard natives as enemies—unfortunately the bullying type of soldier did so, and much brutality was practised on natives.

In 1918 we were told Germans were advancing through Siberia to attack Eastern Ports; at Vladivostok, however, we saw no Germans but many Japanese.

Farther up in Siberia we found the "enemy" were unarmed Russian workmen. After we had finished killing and our suspicions being aroused, we received lectures that the "Reds" were a brutal foe, destroying, robbing, etc.

J. MARTIN.

Herestone Hill,  
Caterham,  
Surrey.

## WHY NOT DO IT?

Lord Baden-Powell in the "Scouts Jamboree Supplement" says:—"If only the leaders of the different nations would get together round a table for a personal talk instead of scowling at each other with hands on the hilts of their swords."

This is somewhat similar to the advice given to Herr Hitler by Mr. Lansbury. What prevents it being done? The common peoples in all countries say they desire "peace." If they had their say in the matter there would be no war. Armaments could be scrapped and the money spent on them could be used for the social benefit of the people in every land.

"M."

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

Regina

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"Away from  
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## SHAW & SHAKESPEARE



THE annual Shakespearean Festival at Stratford-on-Avon has now a promising competitor in the Malvern Festival of modern and period plays.

Originating nine years ago, Malvern appeared then to be challenging Shakespeare by Shaw, but subsequently the Festival became less exclusive, although such is the domination of Shaw that he can write:

"I have actually planted a municipal mulberry tree in Malvern, and thereby created a general impression that I was born there. In course of time visitors will be shown for sixpence the room in which my first cries were heard."

Whether or not this will be so, certainly the British and American visitors would not be likely to make pilgrimage to the Malvern Hills were it not that a prophet has already invested the place with the significance of a Mecca.

And so, whilst we cherished the newly-discovered *Susanna* from the sixteenth century, or wrinkled our brows at Henry Fielding's *Tom Thumb*, it was *The Millionairess* and the revival of *The Apple Cart* upon which the spotlight really fell.

Both these plays by G.B.S. deal with dominating personalities and the latter has been hailed by many, including Hitler and Mussolini, as an exposure of democracy and a vindication of dictatorship. Perhaps Shaw attempted a counterbalance of this in *The Millionairess*, whose theme is, as one of the reviewers put it, "What shall we do with our bosses?"

Although there is much in the first scene in *The Apple Cart* (in which a Labour Cabinet is satirically caricatured) that is irritatingly unfair, I would hold that the real point of the play is not that the masses must be bossed but that the masses will be bossed so long as they remain just "the masses."

Shaw dislikes the masses because he believes in human beings, and human beings are not sheep but personalities. It is personality that tells and should tell, and humanity should be measured by that standard. It is the creative initiative of the human "soul" that characterizes man's departure from the brutish realm of gregarious instinct.

IS not this the essential philosophy of pacifism? The pacifist claims that a complete faith in the potentialities of personality can vanquish war and that until this is realized man is certain either to react to the processes of the past or to be paralysed with haunting fears.

He is even in danger of being borne into conflict by the impetus of elemental impulses or of pursuing a

tragic strategy arising from the assumption that ultimately he must either kill or be killed. He has little faith in the infinite resources of his mental and spiritual armoury and so wrests metal and chemical from nature and lives and dies within the orbit of her limited law.

King Magnus in *The Apple Cart* triumphs not because his fist is thicker, his voice more booming or his sword sharper than that of his cabinet, but because he had confidence in his own wit.

King Magnus is no endorsement of dictatorship but a Shavian emphasis of disseminated kingship as the source of pacifist conquest.

### India

## FINANCE AN OBSTACLE TO REFORM

### What Congress Has Done

CONGRESS Ministries in India are now preparing to present their budgets and are finding (as forecast in PEACE NEWS recently) that finance is the chief obstacle in the way of the reforms they wish to carry out.

The suggestion that British soldiers should replace Indian soldiers for "internal security" is among the proposals put forward with a view to releasing money for social reforms.

In addition to efforts to remove restrictions introduced to deal with civil disobedience campaigns, Congress Ministries have

Released prisoners serving sentences for civil disobedience;

Removed disabilities from associations which were previously illegal;

Returned money demanded from newspapers as security, and in some cases abandoned the policy of asking for such security;

Made proposals for returning confiscated lands to their former owners without, however, overriding the rights of bona-fide purchasers of such lands.

As a reflection of some sections of British opinion, a report from the Simla Correspondent of *The Times* last week was of some interest. "German journalists now studying political conditions in this country are mystified by the trend of constitutional events," it declared.

"Thinking in terms of imperialism, they fail to appreciate the advantages to be derived from those ideals of collaboration which are transforming an empire centrally controlled from London into a commonwealth spread throughout the world and cooperatively related."

### Another Franco

PARAGUAY followed Europe's lead by staging a naval and military rising last week—although in this case no bloodshed took part.

The leader of the insurrection obtained satisfaction of his demands for the resignation of the Cabinet and the formation by the President—who was Colonel Franco!—of a military triumvirate.

Paraguay's last revolution took place in February, 1936, and resulted in the establishment of a régime similar to European fascism in place of the former Liberal Government. Colonel Franco has now resigned the presidency.

### MAYORS' GOOD WILL MISSION

The Mayor of Stoke-on-Trent was the leader of a party of seven lord mayors and mayors which left for Germany last week-end with the object of promoting good relations between German and English towns.

The party will return to London on Tuesday.

### LABOUR PARTY EXECUTIVE

The Rev. Reginald W. Sorensen, pacifist M.P., is among the 45 nominees submitted by constituency Labour parties for election to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

### Platform Pars

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

Because of the friendship you have cemented here, you will endeavour to settle matters in a friendly way. Thus, you are leading the way to a final settlement of international disputes. Treasure your friendships and carry them home with you to spread among your friends.

An International Scout Conference which followed the jamboree adopted a resolution pointing out the dangers of militarization or political bias in the movement. This will make many people all the more sorry to see the movement in Britain cooperating in air raid "precautions" schemes, while its offer to assist in collecting scrap iron (reported on page 5) has already drawn a protest from one reader of PEACE NEWS.

### Recruiting

THE latest move to solve army recruiting problems has been the announcement by the War Office of an experiment "for a limited period" which will allow serving soldiers about to complete their first term of service to extend their service and will also allow certain classes of reservists to rejoin the army.

This, of course, still leaves the essential recruiting problem—that of finding new soldiers—untouched. In fact insofar as reservists rejoin the army the scheme will amount to the mobilization of reserves.

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### PACIFIST PAMPHLETS

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The above can be obtained from the author, A. Ruth Fry, Thorpeness, Suffolk.

Larger quantities at reduced prices.

## Forthcoming Meetings

August

25 (Wed.) 8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY**, London, W.C.2; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

26 (Thurs.) 7.30 p.m. Summerfield Park, Edgbaston, **BIRMINGHAM**; mass peace meeting; P.P.U.

### A CAUSE OF WAR?

The somewhat surprising statement that "a world council of churches might lead to considerable friction between the nations, and might very likely be a cause rather than a prevention of war," was made by the Bishop of Gloucester at the World Conference on Faith and Order at Edinburgh last week.

"Over many years," he added, "I have followed the resolutions passed by Christian churches on political, social, or semi-political matters, and they often seemed to me to appear inexperienced and ill-considered."

### Have You?

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

**I WONDER** how many members have written to the BBC thanking them for Canon Morris's fine sermon on peace on August 1 and asking for other peace sermons from the same point of view?

**"ANXIOUS SWANWICK CAMPER."**

### "SAPPER'S" WAR STORIES

"If they succeeded in conveying a picture of the madness of war they will not have been written in vain."

This comment on his stories of the Great War was attributed to Lieut.-Col. C. McNeile ("Sapper"), who died on Saturday.

Letter to the Editor

## THANK YOU, MR. REDWOOD!

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

**HUGH REDWOOD'S** "Potted Sermons" have been a feature of the Saturday News Chronicle for some time now, but I really think he has excelled himself in the following delightful statement of the Christian pacifist position, last week.

**My desire upon mine enemies.** Psalm lix, 10.—David's desire was that God should consume his enemies. Christ's was that God should forgive them. The Christian may pray that God will convert them, but too often that means that he wants them converted to his own particular way of thinking.

What we have still to learn after nineteen centuries is the way of peace through rightful desires for others. Prayers for victory and peace will bring neither when conceptions of victory and peace are selfish. And even though we may be convinced of the righteousness of our cause, we know not what manner of spirit we are of if we seek to call down fire from Heaven on those who would dare to oppose it.

Jesus taught us to love and pray for our enemies. We can't do one without the other. If you can't think how to love an enemy, pray for him, at the same time praying that you may be shown how to understand him and help him. When nations make this their desire for their enemies, world peace will soon be a fact. But nations will not find the way till individuals walk in it.

R. GLYN WILLIAMS

Bristol.

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